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freely to dispose of themselves," would of course in that event not be applied to separate portions of states, but only to these states in their entirety. But when, as is to be hoped, the eternal right of human nature,—the right to a worthy human existence,—shall come to be more perfectly established in all European states, the difference between conquerors and conquered, between the ruling and the subject peoples, will disappear, and therewith many a question, which still to-day troubles our minds like a perplexing riddle, will naturally solve itself.

But since it will be possible for differences between particular nations to arise after a federation has been formed, it will be well for the European states to erect a tribunal for such cases. In that event "the United States of Europe" would have to bind themselves to submit unreservedly to its decisions. The tribunal, on its side, would have to hold inviolate the principle that existing boundaries should not be disturbed, that the states should have perfect self-government just as they have had, all forceful interference in their internal arrangements being excluded, and that only in their relations to one another should they be obliged to submit to the decisions of the tribunal. With questions of internal concern this high tribunal would not have to do in a judicial way. It would be entitled, however, morally to intervene; for instance, it might use its influence to relieve the lot of the Sicilians, of the Baltic provinces, and as far as might be needful of Alsace-Lorraine also. When we reach this point, I think it not improbable that some sort of autonomy would be granted to the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine within the German empire under the form of a personal union with the Emperor.*

The chief thing is that reason should have the victory over old prejudices and narrow selfishness. Peoples will become convinced that any injustice which may have been done them can be righted only in a moral and juridic way, and not by rude violence; nay more, that if war shall be declared and cannon brought out, they will run the risk of losing not simply the object of their contention, but their independence also and possibly in a certain sense their very existence; that therefore the object for which they are contending is not worth such a venture. As soon as the truth is firmly grasped that peace is worth more than the most beautiful province, arms will drop away of their own accord; and then will the Peace of Frankfurt become that for which mankind in the deepest depths of its soul longs,—ETERNAL PEACE.

* Herman Fried, in his book "Alsace-Lorraine and War," has declared that every proposed solution of the question is inadequate, as none of them would bring about the desired result. He is of opinion that this Alsace-Lorraine stumbling block is to be gotten over by a high idealism. In certain cases his plan of simply letting the matter alone may be allowable. This is my way of dealing with dogmatic differences. But here we have to deal not simply with something scholastic, but with the stubborn reality of actual contradictions. These we must look at exactly as they are, and seek a solution in a realistic way with constant regard to historic antecedents. I must not omit to remark also that I thoroughly sympathize with the idea of the civilizing and reconciling influence of an intellectual and spiritual communion between France and Germany.

Clara Barton has returned to this country. She was given a reception in Washington on her return. Her helpers remain in Armenia distributing relief. She has come back to try to create deeper interest in the distress caused by Turkish cruelties. Cheerful and generous response ought to be made to her appeals.

The insurrection in the Philippine Islands continues. Spain has so far been unable successfully to cope with it.

AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PEACE OF EUROPE, BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EUROPEAN DYET, PARLIAMENT, OR ESTATES.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

Published in the year 1693-94.

Beati Pacifici. Cedant arma togæ.

TO THE READER.

READER,

I have undertaken a Subject that I am very sensible requires one of more sufficiency than I am Master of to treat it, as, in Truth, it deserves, and the groaning State of Europe calls for; but since Bunglers may Stumble upon the Game, as well as Masters, though it belongs to the Skilful to hunt and catch it, I hope this Essay will not be charged upon me for a Fault, if it appear to be neither Chimerical nor Injurious, and may provoke abler Pens to improve and perform the Design with better Judgment and Success. I will say no more in Excuse of myself, for this Undertaking, but that it is the Fruit of my solicitous Thoughts, for the Peace of Europe, and they must want Charity as much as the world needs Quiet, to be offended with me for so Pacifick a Proposal. Let them censure my Management, so they prosecute the Advantage of the Design; for 'till the Millenary Doctrine be accomplished, there is nothing appears to me so beneficial an Expedient to the Peace and Happiness of this Quarter of the World.

AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PEACE OF EUROPE, &c.

SECT. I. *Of Peace, and its Advantages.*

He must not be a Man but a Statue of Brass or Stone, whose Bowels do not melt when he beholds the bloody *Tragedies* of this War, in *Hungary, Germany, Flanders, Ireland*, and at Sea: The Mortality of sickly and languishing Camps and Navies, and the mighty prey the Devouring Winds and Waves have made upon Ships and Men since 88. And as this with Reason ought to affect human Nature, and deeply Kindred, so there is something very moving that becomes prudent Men to consider, and that is the vast Charge that has accompanied that Blood, and which makes no mean Part of these *Tragedies*; Especially if they deliberate upon the uncertainty of the War, that they know not how or when it will end, and that the Expense cannot be less, and the Hazard is as great as before. So that in the Contraries of Peace we see the Beauties and Benefits of it; which under it, such is the Unhappiness of Mankind, we are too apt to nauseate, as the full Stomach loaths the Honey-Comb; and like that unfortunate Gentleman, that having a fine and a good Woman to his Wife, and searching his Pleasure in forbidden and less agreeable Company, said, when reproach'd with his Neglect of better Enjoyments, *That he could love his Wife of all Women, if she were not his Wife*, tho' that increased his Obligation to prefer her. It is a great Mark of the Corruption of our Natures, and what ought to humble us extremely, and excite the Exercise of our Reason to a nobler and juster Sense, that we cannot see the Use and Pleasure of our Comforts but by the Want of them. As if we could not taste the Benefit of

Health, but by the Help of Sickness; nor understand the Satisfaction of Fulness without the Instruction of Want; nor, finally, know the Comfort of Peace, but by the Smart and Penance of the Vices of War: And without Dispute that is not the least Reason that God is pleased to Chastise us so frequently with it. What can we desire better than *Peace*, but the *Grace* to use it? *Peace* preserves our Possessions; We are in no Danger of Invasions: Our Trade is free and Safe, and we rise and lye down without Anxiety. The Rich bring out their Hoards, and employ the poor Manufacturers; Buildings and divers Projections, for Profit and Pleasure, go on: It excites Industry, which brings Wealth, as that gives the Means of Charity and Hospitality, not the lowest ornaments of a Kingdom or Commonwealth. But War, like the Frost of 83, seizes all these Comforts at once, and stops the civil Channel of Society. The Rich draw in their Stock, the Poor turn Soldiers, or Thieves, or starve: No Industry, no Building, no Manufactory, little Hospitality or Charity; but what the Peace gave, the War devours. I need say no more upon this Head, when the Advantages of Peace, and Mischiefs of War, are so many and sensible to every Capacity under all Governments, as either of them prevails. I shall proceed to the next Point. *What is the best Means of Peace; which will conduce much to open my Way to what I have to propose.*

SECT. II. *Of the Means of Peace, which is Justice rather than War.*

As *Justice* is a Preserver, so it is a better Procurer of Peace than War. Tho' *Pax quaeritur bello* be an usual Saying, *Peace is the end of War*, and as such it was taken up by O. C. for his Motto; Yet the Use generally made of that expression shews us, that properly and truly speaking, Men seek their Wills by War rather than Peace, and that as they will violate it to obtain them, so they will hardly be brought to think of Peace, unless their Appetites be some Way gratified. If we look over the Stories of all Times, we shall find the Aggressors generally moved by Ambition; the Pride of Conquest and Greatness of Dominion more than Right. But as those *Leviathans* appear rarely in the World, so I shall anon endeavor to make it evident they had never been able to devour the Peace of the World, and ingross whole Countries as they have done, if the *Proposal* I have to make for the Benefit of our present Age had been then in Practice. The Advantage that Justice has upon War is seen by the Success of *Embassies*, that so often prevent War by hearing the *Pleas* and *Memorials of Justice* in the Hands and Mouths of the *Wronged Party*. Perhaps it may be in a good Degree owing to *Reputation* or *Poverty*, or some Particular *Interest* or *Conveniency* of *Princes* and *States*, as much as *Justice*; but it is certain, that as War cannot in any Sense be justified, but upon Wrongs received, and Right, upon Complaint, refused; So the Generality of Wars have their Rise from some such Pretension. This is better seen and understood at Home; for that which prevents a Civil War in a Nation, is that which may prevent it Abroad, viz: *Justice*; and we see where that is notably obstructed, War is kindled between the *Magistrates* and *People* in particular Kingdoms and States; which, however it may be unlawful on the side of the *People*, we see never fails to follow, and ought to give the same Caution to *Princes*, as if it were the Right of the *People* to do it: Tho' I must needs say, the

Remedy is almost ever worse than the Disease: The Aggressors seldom getting what they seek, or performing, if they prevail, what they promised: And the *Blood and Poverty* that usually attend the Enterprise, weigh more on Earth, as well as in Heaven, than what they lost or suffered, or what they get by endeavoring to mend their *Condition*, comes to: Which *Disappointment* seems to be the Voice of Heaven, and Judgment of God against those violent Attempts. But to return, I say, *Justice is the Means of Peace*, betwixt the *Government* and the *People*, and one *Man* and *Company* and another. It prevents *Strife*, and at last ends it: For besides *Shame* or *Fear*, to contend longer, he or they being under *Government*, are constrained to bound their *Desires* and *Resentment* with the *Satisfaction* the Law gives. Thus *Peace* is maintained by *Justice*, which is a Fruit of *Government*, as *Government* is from *Society*, and *Society* from *Consent*.

SECT. III. *Government, its Rise and End under all Models.*

Government is an Expedient against *Confusion*; a Restraint upon all *Disorder*; Just Weights and an even Balance: That one may not injure another, nor himself, by *Intemperance*.

This was at first without *Controversie*, *Patrimonial*, and upon the Death of the Father or Head of the Family, the eldest Son or Male of Kin succeeded. But Time breaking in upon this Way of Governing, as the World multiply'd, it fell under other *Claims* and *Forms*; and is as hard to trace to its Original, as are the Copies we have of the first Writings of *Sacred* or *Civil* Matters. It is certain the most Natural and Human is that of *Consent*, for that binds freely, (as I may say) when Men hold their *Liberty* by true *Obedience* to Rules of their own making. No Man is Judge in his own Cause, which ends the *Confusion* and *Blood* of so many *Judges* and *Executioners*. For out of *Society* every Man is his own *King*, does what he lists at his own Peril: But when he comes to incorporate himself, he submits that *Royalty* to the *Conveniency* of the *Whole*, from whom he receives the Returns of *Protection*. So that he is not now his own Judge nor Avenger, neither is his *Antagonist*, but the *Law*, in indifferent Hands between both. And if he be Servant to others that before was free, he is also served of others that formerly owed him no *Obligation*. Thus while we are not our own, every Body is ours, and we get more than we lose, the Safety of the *Society* being the Safety of the *Particulars* that constitute it. So that while we seem to submit to, and hold all we have from *Society*, it is by *Society* that we keep what we have.

Government then is the *Prevention* or *Cure* of *Disorder*, and the Means of *Justice*, as that is of *Peace*: For this Cause they have *Sessions*, *Terms*, *Assizes*, and *Parliaments*, to overrule Men's *Passions* and *Resentments*, that they may not be *Judges* in their own Cause, nor *Punishers* of their own *Wrongs*, which, as it is very incident to Men in their *Corrupt State*, so, for that Reason, they would observe no Measure; nor on the other Hand would any be easily reduced to their Duty. Not that Men know not what is right, their Excesses, and wherein they are to blame, by no Means; nothing is plainer to them: But so depraved is Human Nature, that without Compulsion some Way or other, too many would not readily be brought to do what they know is right and fit, or avoid what they

are satisfy'd they should not do : Which brings me near to the Point I have undertaken ; and for the better Understanding of which, I have thus briefly treated of *Peace, Justice, and Government*, as a necessary *Introduction*, because the Ways and Methods by which *Peace* is preserved in particular *Governments*, will help those *Readers* most concerned in my *Proposal* to conceive with what Ease as well as advantage the *Peace of Europe* might be procured and Kept ; which is the End designed by me, with all Submission to those Interested in this little *Treatise*.

SECT. IV. *Of a General Peace, or the Peace of Europe, and the Means of it.*

In my first Section, I showed the *Desirableness of Peace* ; in my next, the Truest Means of it ; to wit, *Justice not War*. And in my last, that this *Justice* was the Fruit of *Government*, as *Government* itself was the Result of *Society* which first came from a Reasonable Design in Men of *Peace*. Now if the *Sovereign Princes of Europe*, who represent that *Society*, or Independent State of Men that was previous to the Obligations of *Society*, would, for the same Reason that engaged Men first into *Society*, viz : *Love of Peace and Order*, agree to meet by their Stated Deputies in a *General Dyet, Estates, or Parliament*, and there Establish Rules of *Justice* for *Sovereign Princes* to observe one to another ; and thus to meet Yearly, or once in Two or Three Years at farthest, or as they shall see Cause, and to be stiled, *The Sovereign or Imperial Dyet, Parliament, or State of Europe* ; before which *Sovereign Assembly*, should be brought all Differences depending between one *Sovereign* and another, that can not be made up by private *Embassies*, before the Sessions begin ; and that if any of the *Sovereignties* that Constitute these *Imperial States*, shall refuse to submit their Claim or Pretensions to them, or to abide and perform the Judgment thereof, and seek their Remedy by Arms, or delay their Compliance beyond the Time prefixed in their Resolutions, all the other *Sovereignties*, United as One Strength, shall compel the Submission and Performance of the Sentence, with Damages to the Suffering Party, and Charges to the *Sovereignties* that obliged their Submission. To be sure, *Europe* would quietly obtain the so much desired and needed *Peace*, to *Her harassed Inhabitants* ; no *Sovereignty in Europe* having the Power and therefore can not show the Will to dispute the Conclusion ; and, consequently, *Peace* would be procured, and continued in *Europe*.

SECT. V. *Of the Causes of Difference, and Motives to Violate Peace.*

There appears to me but Three Things upon which *Peace* is broken, Viz : To *Keep*, to *Recover*, or to *Add*. First, to *Keep* what is Ones Right, from the Invasion of an Enemy ; in which I am purely *Defensive*. Secondly, To *Recover*, when I think myself Strong enough, that which by Violence, I, or any Ancestors have lost by the Arms of a Stronger Power ; in which I am *Offensive* ; Or, Lastly, To increase my Dominion by the Acquisition of my Neighbour's Countries, as I find them Weak, and myself Strong. To gratify which Passion, there will never want some Accident or other for a Pretense : And Knowing my own Strength, I will be my own Judge and Carver. This *Last* will find no Room in the *Imperial States* : They are an unpassable Limit to that Ambition. But the other *Two* may come as soon as they please, and find the

Justice of the Sovereign Court. And considering how few there are of those *Sons of Prey*, and how early they show themselves, it may be not once in an Age or Two, this Expedition being established, the Ballance can not well be broken.

SECT. VI. *Of Titles, upon which those Differences may arise.*

But I easily foresee a Question that may be answered in our Way, and that is this ; *What is Right ? Or else we can never know what is Wrong : It is very fit that this should be Established*. But that is fitter for the *Sovereign States* to resolve than me. And yet that I may lead a Way to the Matter, I say that Title is either by a long and undoubted *Succession*, as the Crowns of *Spain, France, and England* ; or by *Election*, as the Crown of *Poland*, and the *Empire* ; or by *Marriage*, as the Family of the *Stewarts* came by *England* ; the *Electer of Brandenburg*, to the Dutchy of *Cleve* : and we, in Ancient Time, to divers Places abroad ; or by Purchase, as hath been frequently done in *Italy* and *Germany* ; or by Conquest, as the *Turk* in *Christendom*, the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, formerly mostly in the *French Hands* ; and the *French* in *Burgundy, Normandy, Lorrain, French-County, &c.* This last Title is, Morally Speaking, only Questionable. It has indeed obtained a Place among the Rolls of Titles, but it was engross'd and recorded by the Point of the sword, and in Bloody Characters. What can not be controuled or resisted, must be submitted to ; but all the World knows the Date of the length of such Empires, and that they expire with the Power of the Possessor to defend them. And yet there is a little allowed to Conquest too, when it has the Sanction of Articles of *Peace* to confirm it : Tho' that hath not always extinguished the Fire, but it lies, like Embers and Ashes, ready to Kindle so soon as there is fit Matter prepared for it. Nevertheless, when Conquest has been confirmed by a Treaty, and Conclusion of *Peace*, I must confess it is an Adopted Title ; and if not so Genuine and Natural, yet being engrafted, it is fed by that which is the Security of *Better Titles, Consent*. There is but one Thing more to be mentioned in this Section, and that is from what Time Titles shall take their Beginning, or how far back we may look to confirm or dispute them. It would be very bold and inexcusable in me, to determine so tender a Point, but be it more or less Time, as to the last General *Peace* at *Nimeguen*, or to the commencing of this War, or to the Time of the Beginning of the Treaty of *Peace*, I must submit it to the Great Pretenders and Masters in that Affair. But something every Body must be willing to give or quit, that he may keep the rest, and by this Establishment be forever freed of the Necessity of losing more.

SECT. VII. *Of the Composition of these Imperial States.*

The Composition and Proportion of this *Sovereign Part, or Imperial State*, does, at the first Look, seem to carry with it no small Difficulty what votes to allow for the Inequality of the Princes and States. But with Submission to better Judgments, I can not think it invincible ; For if it be possible to have an Estimate of the Yearly Value of the several *Sovereign Countries*, whose Delegates are to make up this August Assembly, The Determination of the Number of Persons or Votes in the States for every *Sovereignty* will not be impracticable. Now that *England, France, Spain, the Empire, &c.*, may be pretty

exactly estimated, is so plain a Case, by considering the Revenue of Lands, the Exports and Entries at the Custom Houses, the Books of Rates, and Surveys that are in all Governments, to proportion Taxes for the Support of them, that the least Inclination to the *Peace of Europe* will not stand or halt at this Objection. I will, with Pardon on all Sides give an Instance far from Exact; nor do I pretend to it, or offer it for an Estimate; for I do it at Random: Only this, as wide as it is from the Just Proportion, will give some Aim to my *Judicious Reader*, what I would be at: Remembering, I design not by any Computation, an Estimate from the Revenue of the Prince, but the Value of the Territory, the Whole being concerned as well as the Prince. And a Juster Measure it is to go by, since one Prince may have more Revenue than another, who has much a Richer Country: Tho' in the Instance I am now about to make, the Caution is not so necessary, because, as I said before, I pretend to no Manner of Exactness, but go wholly by Guess, being but for Example's Sake. I suppose the *Empire of Germany* to send Twelve; *France*, Ten; *Spain*, Ten; *Italy*, which comes to *France*, Eight; *England*, Six; *Portugal*, Three; *Sweedland*, Four; *Denmark*, Three; *Poland*, Four; *Venice*, Three; the *Seven Provinces*, Four; *The Thirteen Cantons*, and little *Neighbouring Sovereignties*, Two; *Dukedoms of Holstein and Courland*, One: And if the *Turks and Muscovites* are taken in, as seems but fit and just, they will make *Ten apiece more*. The *Whole* makes Ninety. A great Presence when they represent the *Fourth, and now The Best and Wealthiest Part of the Known World; where Religion and Learning, Civility and Arts have their Seat and Empire*. But it is not absolutely necessary there should be always so many Persons, to represent the larger Sovereignties; for the Votes may be given by one Man of any Sovereignty, as well as by Ten or Twelve: Tho' the fuller the Assembly of States is, the more Solemn, Effectual, and Free the Debates will be, and the Resolutions must needs come with greater Authority. The Place of their First Session should be Central, as much as is possible, afterwards as they agree.

SECT. VIII. *Of the Regulations of the Imperial States in Session.*

To avoid Quarrel for Precedency, the Room may be Round, and have divers Doors to come in and go out at, to prevent Exceptions. If the whole Number be cast in Tens, each chusing One, they may preside by Turns, to whom all Speeches should be addressed, and who should collect the Sense of the Debates, and state the Question for a Vote, which, in my Opinion, should be by the *Ballot* after the Prudent and Commendable Method of the *Venetians*: Which, in a great Degree, prevents the ill Effects of Corruption; because if any of the Delegates of that High and Mighty Estates could be so Vile, False, and Dishonorable, as to be influenced by Money, they have the Advantage of taking their Money that will give it them and of Voting undiscovered to the Interest of their Principles, and their own Inclinations; as they that do understand the *Balloting Box* do very well know. A Shrewd Stratagem and an Experimental Remedy against *Corruption*, at least Corrupting: For who will give their Money where they may so easily be Cozened, and where it is Two to One they will be so; for they that will take Money in such Cases, will not stick to Lye heartily to them that give

it, rather than wrong their Country, when they know their Lye can not be detected.

It seems to me, that nothing in this *Imperial Parliament* should pass, but by Three Quarters of the Whole, at least Seven above the Ballance. I am sure it helps to prevent Treachery, because if Money could ever be a Temptation in such a Court, it would cost a great Deal of Money to weigh down the wrong Scale. All Complaints should be delivered in Writing in the Nature of *Memorials* and *Journals* kept by a proper Person, in a *Trunk or Chest*, which should have as many differing Locks, as there are Tens in the States. And if there were a *Clerk* for each Ten, and a *Pew or Table* for those Clerks in the Assembly; and at the End of Every Session One out of each Ten were appointed to Examine and Compare the *Journal of those Clerks*, and then lock them up as I have before expressed, it would be clear and Satisfactory. And each Sovereignty if they please, as is but very fit, may have an *Exemplification*, or *Copy of the said Memorials*, and the *Journal of Proceedings* upon them. The *Liberty and Rules of Speech*, to be sure, they can not fail in, who will be *Wiseest and Noblest* of each Sovereignty, for its own Honour and Safety. If any Difference can arise between those that come from the same Sovereignty that then One of the Major Number do give the Balls of that Sovereignty. I should think it extremely necessary, that every Sovereignty should be present under great Penalties, and that none leave the Session without Leave, till All be finished; and that Neutralities in Debates should by no Means be endured: For any such Latitude will quickly open a Way to unfair Proceedings, and be followed by a Train, both of seen, and unseen Inconveniences. I will say little of the *Language* in which the *Session of the Sovereign Estates should be held*, but to be sure it must be in *Latin or French*; the first would be very well for Civilians, but the last most easie for Men of Quality.

CONCLUDED NEXT MONTH.

I trust that Princeton, as she enters upon a new era in her history, will do her part toward the promotion of a public sentiment that shall make it impossible for the clash of arms ever to be heard again between the two great nations of the English-speaking world. I hope that she will do something to stimulate the development of the international conscience, to widen the range of international law, and to hasten the day when international disputes shall be settled by arbitration. International law rests on a basis of morality. It is essentially a university study; and I should like to see Princeton take a high place in connection with its development.—*Dr. Patton at the Princeton Sesqui-Centennial.*

Ripans Tabules.

Ripans Tabules: at druggists.

Ripans Tabules cure nausea.

Ripans Tabules cure dizziness.

Ripans Tabules cure headache.

Ripans Tabules cure flatulence.

Ripans Tabules cure dyspepsia.

Ripans Tabules assist digestion.

Ripans Tabules cure bad breath.

Ripans Tabules cure biliousness.